

The Solemn League and Covenant: A List of Signed Copies

PROFESSOR DAVID STEVENSON, B.A., Ph.D., D.Litt.

In 1988 a list of surviving signed copies of the National Covenant of 1638 was published to mark the 350th anniversary of the first signing of the document.¹ The present list repeats the exercise for the Solemn League and Covenant on its 350th anniversary.

Scope

The list seeks to include all surviving copies of the covenant which were signed in Scotland from 1643 to the end of covenanter control of Scotland in 1651. In nearly all cases signing took place in 1643 (with sometimes a few additions in following years) and/or in 1648-9.

Exceptions are the covenants signed by Charles II in 1650-1: in these instances the texts of National and Solemn League and Covenant were included in a single document, and the entry in the present list carries a cross-reference to the earlier list of copies of the National Covenant.

A number of signed covenants of which descriptions survive are included though their present location is unknown.

Copies excluded from the present list include those signed in later times, and those signed in England. But the one known surviving copy signed in Ireland has been included (14.4), as it was signed by Scots settlers at the instigation of Scots ministers in an area under the control of a Scots army.

Format of entries

Information in the individual entries in the list is arranged as follows:

Reference number and present location of the covenant.

¹ *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*, xxiii, pt. 2, 1988, 255-99.

Provenance (former locations and owners).

Edition. Nearly all the signed copies of the Solemn League and Covenant are in the form of printed pamphlets with blank pages at the end for signatures.

Signatures. When and where the covenant was signed; number of signatures. Where “signatures” are in the hand of a notary public or a clerk signing for those who could not write this is noted.

Reference number in the fullest of the lists previously published, ‘Hewison 3’ (see below), and in other listings of the covenant if these provide information not in Hewison.

References to other publications giving information about the covenant and signatures on it.

Order of entries

The order is based on the present location of the covenants, starting with the main public archives in Edinburgh and then moving round the country by regions. The reference numbers, printed at the beginning of each entry, have two elements: a number indicating the location (archive or region), followed after a full stop by a number identifying the specific copy. The advantage of this arrangement is that other copies of the covenant which turn up in the future can be slotted in and provided with numbers in the appropriate places.

Locations are specified as follows:

- 1 EDINBURGH: Scottish Record Office
- 2 EDINBURGH: National Library of Scotland
- 3 EDINBURGH: Edinburgh University Library
- 4 EDINBURGH: General
- 5 LOTHIAN
- 6 BORDERS
- 7 DUMFRIES AND GALLOWAY
- 8 STRATHCLYDE
- 9 CENTRAL
- 10 FIFE
- 11 TAYSIDE
- 12 GRAMPIAN
- 13 HIGHLAND

- 14 ENGLAND AND IRELAND
- 15 OVERSEAS
- 16 MISSING, LOST, SUPPOSITIOUS

Previous Lists of the Solemn League and Covenant

- Account: "An Account of the Names of some of the Persons who have Original Coppies of our Covenants, National and Solemn League", early 18th century, Edinburgh University Library, Laing Ms. III.229/4. Printed in David Laing, "The Names of Some of the Persons who have Original Copies of our Covenants, National and Solemn League", *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, iv (1860-2), 240.
- Laing: Copies mentioned by David Laing and in a communication to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1847: printed in the above article, 249-50.
- Hewison 1: James King Hewison, "'Bands' or Covenants in Scotland, with a List of Extant Copies of the Scottish Covenant", *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, xlii (1907-8), 180-2.
- Hewison 2: James King Hewison, "Extant Copies of the British Solemn League and Covenant", *The Covenanters. A History of the Church of Scotland from the Reformation to the Revolution*, 2 vols. (1st edn., Glasgow, 1908), i, 490-2.
- Hewison 3: "Extant Copies of the Scottish Covenants", *Ibid.*, 2 vols. (2nd edn., Glasgow, 1913), i, 490-2. In the present list Hewison 3 references are given, and an asterisk (*) is added to indicate cases in which Hewison 3 transcribes some signatures (sometimes only one or two) not transcribed in the new list.
- Hewison 4: Hewison's own interleaved copy of the first (1908) edition of *The Covenanters*, deposited in the Library of New College, Edinburgh, contains many annotations and additions made by him to Hewison

Fleming: David Hay Fleming, "Some Subscribed Copies of the Solemn League and Covenant", *Papers of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society*, xi (1912- 20), 1-33. Also printed separately in 1918 (the paper having been delivered in 1914).

Abbreviations

The abbreviated names or earlier lists of covenants given above are used, together with the following:

Houston R.A. Houston, *Scottish Literacy and the Scottish Identity* (Cambridge, 1985)

Fasti H. Scott (ed.), *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*, 7 vols. (Edinburgh, 1915-28)

The Signing of the Solemn League and Covenant

Orders for the taking of the new covenant were issued in October 1643. On 11 October the Commission of the General Assembly issued an "Ordinance for the solemn receiving, swearing, and subscribing of the League and Covenant". Instructions were given that the text "be forthwith printed, and that the printed copies, bound with some clean (blank) sheets of paper at the end, be sent to every parish minister" - or, according to Robert Baillie, to the moderators of the presbyteries, who would distribute the copies to ministers.

On the first Sunday after receiving his copy, each minister was to read the text, explain it, and exhort the people to be prepared to sign it on the following Sunday. It was to be sworn "by men and women, and all of understanding", and signed by all men who could write, and by the clerk of each kirk session in name of all those who could not write. When the National Covenant had been signed, notaries public had usually signed for those who could not write, and formally attested that they had done so. Now, less formally, all that was necessary was that clerks of session list the names of those who could not sign.²

² *Solemn League and Covenant* (Evan Tyler, Edinburgh, 1643); R. Baillie, *Letters and Journals* (3 vols., Bannatyne Club, 1841-2), ii, 102.

On 12 October civil authority and threatened sanctions were provided by the Committee of Estates. All Scots were to sign, on pain of confiscation of rents and goods, and of being banned from holding any benefice, place or office.³ Approval followed on 18 October from the Privy Council - though it was fast declining into insignificance at this time.⁴

In 1638 the covenanters had favoured distributing the text of the National Covenant in the form of handwritten texts on large sheets of parchment, with space for signatures left under the text. In 1643 they decided on printed texts of the Solemn League and Covenant in paper pamphlets, with additional sheets at the end left blank, except for a heading, for signatures. In some cases additional sheets for signatures, without a heading, were added at the back of the pamphlet as required. In other copies some or all of the headed pages for signature have been lost or deliberately removed - because they were not needed, or to remove signature when political developments made having signed the covenant an embarrassment.

Production of these pamphlets designed for signature was entrusted to Evan Tyler, the covenanters' printer in Edinburgh. The text was set up as if for an octavo pamphlet, but some, perhaps even all, copies were printed at the top left of quarto pages. Presumably this was intended to provide larger pages for signatures on the blank pages: where this was not required, the pamphlet could be trimmed down to a more convenient octavo size by cutting off the very wide bottom and right hand margins of pages.

Unfortunately a number of copies were signed when quarto in format, but when, in later generations they have been bound into volumes of collected pamphlets they have been cropped down to octavo - as the printed text on the cover seemed to indicate that this could be done without loss. The fact that signatures filled the whole of some quarto pages was overlooked. As a result in a number of surviving copies many signatures have been damaged, and undoubtedly many

³ *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, VI, i (1870), 152.

⁴ Historical Manuscripts Commission 1: *2nd Report* (1871), Montrose, 169.

more completely destroyed (eg., 2.3, 2.6, 3.1, 3.3 below). Surviving copies of the same edition can thus vary greatly in size, from ones with pages about 9.5" tall by 7" wide, to drastically cropped ones little more than 7" tall and 5" wide.

Several surviving copies have manuscript notes in the margins of the text of the covenant, summarising the various clauses (eg., 2.1, 2.7 below). Probably these were used by ministers when expounding the new covenant to their congregations.

In turning from parchment to printed pamphlets for copies of the new covenant, the covenanters were no doubt concerned with speed of production, convenience and cost. And there was at least one precedent they could call on. When in 1590 orders had been given for renewal of the 1581 Confession of Faith and a General Band, these texts had been published as a single pamphlet with headed pages at the end of each of the two documents for subscription. A surviving copy is inscribed at the end of the Confession as the Book of the Eldership of Haddington which began to be subscribed on 28 July 1590. It was evidently signed in the presbytery on 26 August, and Lord Thirlestane signed on 10 September 1590. Other sporadic signatures follow, including those of two couples married in 1615 and 1616. Some signatures also follow the Band.⁵

After the regime of the Engagers was replaced by that of the Kirk Party in 1648, renewal of the covenant, held to have been broken by the previous regime, was ordered by the Commissioners of the General Assembly (6 October),⁶ and by the Committee of Estates (14 October).⁷ Again the copies distributed were printed by Evan Tyler. But whereas in 1643 the emphasis had been on all swearing the new covenant, in 1648 renewal was hedged round with restrictions, to exclude those held to have betrayed the cause or thought to be unworthy through their personal failings.

⁵ NLS, Gray. 753(16).

⁶ *Records of the Commissions of the General Assemblies... 1648 and 1649*, ed. A.F. Mitchell and J. Christie (Scottish History Society, 1896), 78-9, 88-9, 136-7.

⁷ SRO, PA.11/7, ff.20v-21r.

To return to the first signing of the new covenant in 1643, the event was described by Robert Baillie as follows:

So on Fryday [13 October], in the New Church [East Kirk], Edinburgh, after a pertinent sermon of Mr Robert Dowglass, the Commissioners of Estate at one table, the Commissioners of the Church at ane other, the Commissioners from the Parliament and Assemblie of England at a third, did solemnlie swear and subscriue, with great joy, and manie teares. Some eighteen of our Lords were present that day.⁸

Sir Thomas Hope of Craighall, the Lord Advocate, also described the scene “in the Eistmost Kirk of St Jells”, adding that after Robert Douglas’s sermon the English Independent, Stephen Marshall, spoke, “being sittid with the Inglische Commissioners, quho satt under the reideris desk”, The nobles sat

foiranent the minister, at the syd of ane tabill coverit with greyn; and all the persones off the Committie, both of Estait and Assembly, satt at the tuo endis of the tabill, in a traverse tabill both south and north.

Hope himself was there, and “renewit my vow, in presence of the Lord, to adhere to his blissit trewth”. However, the lawyer in him had scruples about that part of the covenant which concerned upholding the privileges of the parliament of England: as a Scot, he held, he could not be bound to maintain the privileges of another kingdom.⁹

The copy of the covenant thus signed in the East Kirk of Edinburgh is listed at 14.2 below. Members of the Privy Council were summoned “under strict certifications” to swear the covenant on 2 November.

⁸ Baillie, *Letters and Journals*, ii, 102.

⁹ Sir Thomas Hope, *A Diary of the Public Correspondence* (Bannatyne Club, 1843), 197.

Many then signed “to eschew suffering, but not cordially”, according to the hostile Henry Guthry.¹⁰ This copy also survives (see 1.1 below).

Many kirk session minutes contain descriptions of arrangements for signing the covenant. At Carnock the parish minister, John Row, recorded the proceedings. On 29 October 1643 the covenant was read and “maid plain” to the people, who were ordered to prepare to swear and subscribe next Lord’s day. On 5 November the covenant was duly sworn and signed by parishioners. All who could write signed in the book containing the printed covenant, the rest subscribed through John Anderson, notary public, Dunfermline, touching his pen with their hands “as use is”, at the communion table, “as the book which is in my possession testifies”. Anderson was paid 24/- for his pains, Carnock having decided to hire a proper notary instead of just having the session clerk list names.¹¹

At Dalgety the covenant was renewed and sworn by the whole congregation on 17 December 1648. Then the minister, the elders of the kirk session, and some heritors and others signed the covenant in the presence of the rest of the congregation. The remainder were ordered to meet at the lecture the following Friday to sign. Elders were recommended to investigate whether any had absented themselves or refused to renew the covenant. Two sons of the Earl of Moray did not sign, the earl and his wife arguing that they were too young to do so: when they were more “ripe” they would sign.¹²

Sometimes the geography of the parish influenced arrangements for swearing. In South Leith the townsfolk were ordered to swear on Tuesday and Thursday, 24 and 26 October, after sermon, and on Friday 27 October after morning prayer, while the people of Restalrig gathered to sign on Sunday 29 October in the afternoon. The swearing

¹⁰ H. Guthry, *Memoirs* (2nd edn., Glasgow, 1748), 141; *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, 1544-1660* (Edinburgh, 1908), 10.

¹¹ J. Row, *History of the Kirk of Scotland* (Wodrow Society, 1842), xxiv-xxv.

¹² W. Ross, *Glimpses of Pastoral Work in the Covenanting Times. A Record of the Labours of Andrew Donaldson, Minister at Dalgety, Fifeshire, 1644-1662* (London, 1877), 215-16.

that preceded the signing took place on 22 October, members of the congregation standing at the minister's command and lifting up their hands. In the 1648 renewal more elaborate arrangements were made for signing according to where people lived in the parish, and care was taken to see that only those worthy signed: any men who had helped the Engagers had to demonstrate their repentance before signing, and no parishioners under the censure of the kirk were allowed to sign.¹³

Culross kirk session minutes describe the renewal of the covenant on 17 December 1648 (see 10.1 below): "The people, in presence of the dreadful God, standing on ther feete, did solemnly renew the Covenant, with ther hands lifted up to the Most High". "Thos who came not to swear & subscryve the Covenant, to be taken notice of by the elders, and delated" - summoned to appear before the session. On 18 March four soldiers who had served in the Engagers' army signed and renewed the covenant, having satisfied the congregation for their sins.¹⁴

The work of presbyteries in checking that the covenant had been sworn can be traced in their minutes. Thus at a meeting at Kirkcaldy on 25 October 1643 all the ministers confirmed that they had read and explained the covenant, and on 1 October that it had been sworn and signed by men, and sworn without signing by women.¹⁵

What is surprising about the surviving signed copies of the Solemn League and Covenant is perhaps not that there are so few, but that so many survive. Many must have been deliberately destroyed in the reaction which followed the collapse of the covenanting movement, when the covenant was widely blamed for bringing disaster to not just to Scotland but to England and Ireland as well. One embittered writer got his revenge on a signed copy by endorsing it with a biblical text indicating that he saw it as a covenant made with death and hell (see 12.3 below). To deliberate destruction is added the fragility of the

¹³ D. Robertson (ed.), *South Leith Records* (Edinburgh, 1911), 46, 85.

¹⁴ D. Beveridge, *Culross and Tulliallan* (2 vols., Edinburgh, 1885), i, 206-7, 226-7, 230, ii, 68.

¹⁵ W. Stevenson (ed.), *The Presbytery Book of Kirkcaldie* (Kirkcaldy, 1900), 259.

paper covenants: some of those surviving are very dirty and tattered, many others must have simply disintegrated.

Index of parishes etc. from which signed copies of the Solemn League and Covenant survive or have been described

Abercorn	10.4
Aberlady	2.6, 2.7
Ardesier	12.1
Balmaghie?	16.3
Cadder	11.2
Culross	10.1
Dundee	11.1
Dunfermline	10.2, 16.7
Edinburgh	
College Kirk	15.1
East Kirk	14.2
Tolbooth	2.2
(Edinburgh burgess)	2.4, 2.5
(presbytery)	3.2
(Privy Council)	1.1
Edzell	3.5
Forgue	12.2
Glasgow	8.3
(University)	8.1, 8.2
Holywood, County Down	4.4
Kilbarchan	3.3
Kilmany	2.1
Kirkliston	5.2
Legerwood	3.1
Menmuir	2.3
Newbattle	4.1
Ormiston	7.1
Roths	12.3

Rousay	16.6
Rutherglen (minister)	3.4
St Andrews	10.3
Temple	16.4
Traquair	14.1
Charles II	5.1, 14.3, 16.2
Commissioners of the General Assembly	14.2
Convention of Estates	14.2
English Commissioners	14.2
Privy Council	1.1

SIGNED COPIES OF THE SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT

1 EDINBURGH. SCOTTISH RECORD OFFICE

1.1 **SRO, in PA. 6/8, Warrants of Parliament, 1643-9** (misplaced under date 15 July 1644)

Endorsed on flyleaf "Covenant for the Counsall".

Tyler, Edinburgh, 1643.

Edinburgh: privy council. Contains a declaration that this covenant was sworn and signed by privy councillors present on 2 [November] 1643, and was to be sworn and signed subsequently by all councillors and by all subjects of the kingdom. The covenant has had about a third of each page torn off. In its present state it contains 26 signatures of members and fragments of four others. Of the 26, 20 are known to have signed on 2 November, along with the Marquis of Argyll and the Earl of Mar, whose signatures are now lost. The signatures of six members (including the Duke of Hamilton) were added later to qualify them to attend meetings. One of the macers of the council, John Douglas, also signed.

Fleming, 8: description.

2 EDINBURGH: THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF SCOTLAND

2.1

NLS, Acc. 8843

In hands of H.D. Lyon, Bookseller, 18 Selwood Terrace, London, in 1960.

Tyler, Edinburgh, 1643.

Kilmany parish. About 210 signatures, about 186 through a notary, whose attestation is dated 29 October 1643.

SRO, File H. 727.

2.2

NLS, Ms Adv.23.3.16.

Purchased in the Cowgate, Edinburgh, by James Watt, millwright in Biggar. His son gave or sold it to Thomas Somerville, minister of Blackfriars or College Parish, Glasgow (1873-1915), from whom it passed to the Advocates' Library.

Tyler, Edinburgh, 1643.

Edinburgh: Tolbooth or West Kirk parish - "in Eccl. Occidentali, 23 Octob: 1643". Over 750 signatures, headed by the kirk session (Mr Robert Douglas and the elders and deacons). 522 sign personally, the rest through notaries. Signatures include Mr James Fairlie, minister of God's Word. In 1638 he had been deposed as bishop elect of Argyll, but was appointed minister of Lasswade in 1643. Signing the covenant was no doubt part of his rehabilitation.

Hewison 3, no. 13.

Fleming, 14-15.

J.C. Johnston, *Treasury of the Scottish Covenant* (Edinburgh, 1887), 635: description

2.3

NLS, Ms. 3279

Presented by Mrs E. B. Scott, Blairgowrie, 1945.

Tyler, Edinburgh, 1643.

Menmuir parish. Mr George Haliburton, minister, Sir Alexander Carnegie of Balnamoon and parishioners. About 52 signatures, about 36 in the same hand, on one folio. Many are fragmentary, having been damaged by cropping, and some may have been lost completely

Houston, 289

2.4

NLS, Ms. 1656(2)

In the sale of the library of the late Rev. William Makellar, Edinburgh, in 1898, when it (and the other pamphlets bound in the volume - see NC 2.8 and SLC 2.5) was bought by Lamplough for £1. 8s. 0d. (according to *Book Prices, Current*) or £3. 5s 0d. (according to the annotated copy of the sale catalogue in the British Library). Presented to the NLS by E. S. Lamplough, Blackheath, in 1935. Bound in same volume as NC 2.8 and SLC 2.5.

Tyler, Edinburgh, 1643.

Edinburgh. George Leslie, burgess of Edinburgh, testifies that on Sunday 22 October 1643 he swore the confession of faith and covenant (the SLC) with the rest of the congregation in the Old Kirk of Edinburgh after sermon by Mr Andrew Ramsay, and that on 24 October he signed it with his heart and hand. This is a rare case of a covenant not signed communally, but by a pious individual who had purchased his own copy.

Catalogue of the Extensive Library of Valuable Books and Manuscripts of the late Rev. William Makellar (of No. 8, Charlotte Square, Edinburgh)... (Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge sale catalogue, November 1898), p. 92, no. 1026.
Book-Prices Current (London, 1899), 62.

2.5

NLS, Ms. 1656(3)

Provenance as SLC 2.4.

Tyler, Edinburgh, 1648.

Edinburgh. Bound in same volume as NC 2.8 and SLC 2.4. George Leslie, burgess of Edinburgh, testifies that on 17 December 1648 he swore the confession of faith and the SLC with the rest of the congregation in the Old Kirk of Edinburgh after sermon by Mr James Hamilton, and that on 18 December he signed it with his heart and hand.

References as SLC 2.4.

2.6

NLS, Gray. 753 (13, 15)

Mr John Gray was minister of Aberlady from 1684 to 1689, when he was deposed for refusing to pray for King William and Queen Mary.

Presumably when he left he took this parish covenant (and SLC 2.7) with him. He added the covenants to the remarkable library which he assembled, and bequeathed to the burgh of Haddington on his death. The text of the covenant and signatures are item 13 in the volume, with the title and preliminary pages misplaced as item 15.

Tyler, Edinburgh, 1643.

Aberlady parish. About 54 signatures, sixteen in the same hand, on one page. Some signatures are damaged by cropping, and others are probably lost entirely. Signatures include Mr Andrew Blackhall, minister of Aberlady, and Lord Elibank. The date at the top of the page has also been largely destroyed by cropping, only “29” being legible: it is likely that it read Sunday 29 October 1643.

Fasti, i, 351-2.

W. F. Gray, *Catalogue of the Library of John Gray, Haddington* (Edinburgh, 1929).

2.7

NLS, Gray, 753 (14)

Provenance as SLC 2.6.

Tyler, Edinburgh, 1648.

Aberlady parish. About 102 signatures, some damaged by cropping and others probably lost entirely. Signatures include Mr Andrew Makghie, minister at Aberlady, and Lord Elibank. Signed and sworn at Aberlady 17 December 1648. Item 3 in the same volume is A Solemn Acknowledgement of Publick Sins and Breaches of the Covenant (Tyler, Edinburgh, 1648), with a subscription on page 13 (wrongly numbered 4) stating that it was read publicly by the minister and confessed by the congregation at Aberlady on the same day.

References as for SLC 2.6 above.

3 EDINBURGH: EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY LIBRARY (including NEW COLLEGE LIBRARY)

3.1

EUL, Ms. Laing III. 229/1

Tyler, Edinburgh, 1643

Legerwood parish. Minister and parishioners. 150 subscribers on 5 pages (82% through notaries), headed by Mr John Byres, minister at Leger[wood]. Cropping has destroyed parts of some signatures - and perhaps removed others altogether.

Houston, 91.

3.2

EUL, Ms. Laing III. 229/2

Belonged to Andrew Lumsden - who signs at foot of title page.

Tyler, Edinburgh, 1648.

Edinburgh presbytery. Signed 11 April 1649 by members of Edinburgh presbytery and others (including Edinburgh university graduates) - 91 signatures, plus one dated 20 February 1650. Laing erroneously suggested that this copy was signed by the commission of the general assembly. Fleming suggested that it might have been the synod of Lothian and Tweeddale's copy, but the synod did not meet in 1649 until 1 May. It was signed by Mr James Hamilton as moderator, and is almost certainly (from the signatures that follow) the presbytery of Edinburgh's copy.

Laing, p. 250.

Hewison 3, no. 9.

Fleming, 22-3.

Houston, 288.

3.3

EUL, Ms. Laing III. 229/3

Tyler, Edinburgh, 1648

Kilbarchan parish. Signed in the kirk on 14 [December?] 1648 in presence of the minister, Mr James Glendinning. 322 signatures, many in the same hand.

The signatures are on 11 pages: the first four have printed headings, the rest manuscript ones. Cropping has led to the partial loss of some signatures, and others may have been entirely lost.

Hewison 3, no. 10.

Fleming, 23.

Houston, 288.

3.4

EUL, Dd. 7. 62 (12)

Mr Robert Young signs at the foot of the title page. A manuscript note is enclosed by W. Carruthers identifying him as the minister of Rutherglen.

Tyler, Edinburgh, 1643. Latin edition.

Rutherglen: Robert Young, minister. The signature should perhaps be regarded as a mark of ownership rather than a subscription to the covenant.

Hewison 3, no. 11.

3.5

EUL, Divinity Section (New College Library), Map Cabinet.

Tyler, Edinburgh, 1643

Edzell parish. About 191 signatures, headed “the parochine of Edzell”. All but 21 signatures are in the same hand, and about half way through them “I Mr George Fogo minister of Edzell testifies that thir forsaid persons qhuo could not subscribe themself hes sworn to the Covenant”.

Hewison 3, no. 19.

Houston, 289-90, 291.

4 EDINBURGH: GENERAL

4.1

The Royal Museum of Scotland, A.O. 19

Endorsed on flyleaf by Robert Leighton “Octob. 20. 1643. This booke belongeth to the Kirk of Newbattell”. Presented to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland by Robert Murray, bookseller, March 1781.

Tyler, Edinburgh, 1643.

Newbattle parish. 345 signatures include those of Mr Robert Leighton, minister, the Earl of Lothian, and parishioners. Most of the signatures date from before 10 December 1643, but the first, that of Lothian, must have been added later - he was a prisoner in England at that time and did not return to Newbattle until March 1644. One women, Mary Forbes, signs - the only woman's signature known on a surviving copy of this covenant. The session clerk testifies to having

written, by order of the minister and elders, the names of many who could not write - for which he was paid 30s. 4d.

Last pages damaged, but estimated illiteracy rate of 76%.

Laing, p. 250.

Hewison 3, no. 12.

Fleming, 13-14: description.

T. Gordon, "Extracts from the Presbytery Records of Dalkeith relating to the Parish of Newbattle... 1641-1653", *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, iv (1860-3), 485-7.

D. Laing (ed.), "An Account of the Foundation of the Leightonian Library", *The Bannatyne Miscellany*, iii (1855), 230-1 & n: description.

D. Laing (ed.), *Correspondence of Sir Robert Kerr, first Earl of Ancram, and his son William, third Earl of Lothian* 2 vols., (1875), i, lxxi: description.

Houston, 289.

5 LOTHIAN

5.1 Dalmeny, West Lothian: Barnbogle Castle

Manuscript, including text of NC.

Scone. Signed by **Charles II** at his coronation, 1 January 1650.

See NC 5.2 for details.

5.2 Kirkliston Parish Church

Bought at the sale of the library of Andrew McGeorge, a lawyer and historian in Glasgow, in 1921 by a London book dealer, from whom it was bought in 1925 for £20.

Tyler, Edinburgh, 1643.

Kirkliston parish. 78 signatures on the first three leaves after the text, with 232 by those who could not write on the next three leaves. Endorsed at end of text "Anno 1643. This covenant was red publicly by ye minister and explanit Ocbris 29 and publicly sworne and subscribit ye fift of november". Signatures (as listed in the sale catalogue) include Mr John Book, minister at Kirkliston: Inglis of

Inglishtoun; Patrick Dunbar of Brestmilne; Drummond of Cardolberd; James Hamilton of Brigis; John Skene elder and younger of Halzardis; Dundas of Newliston; Thomas Dundas of Brigend.

Hewison 4.

A Catalogue of Rare and Valuable Books.... (Quaritch Catalogue no. 393, July 1925), p. 21, no. 97: description and some signatures.

D. Whyte, *Kirkliston. A Parish History* (Kirkliston, 1991), 7: description.

7 DUMFRIES AND GALLOWAY

7.1 **Kirkcudbright: E.A. Hornel Art Gallery and Library, Broughton House**

Discovered by Hewison in library of a Mr Milligan in Nithsdale, who had purchased it. The covenant may have been taken from the kirk session records of Ormiston by John Sinclair, the parish minister, when he went into exile after the Restoration. Its presence in south west Scotland would then be explained by it being inherited by his son, John, who became minister of Kirkpatrick-Irongray in 1690.

Tyler, Edinburgh, 1648.

Ormiston parish. 165 signatures on four pages, the first signature being that of the parish minister, John Sinclair. Many of the signatures are in the same hand

Hewison 4.

J.K. Hewison, "A Chance Discovery. The Ormiston Covenant", *The Scotsman*, 8 October 1927, p.14: some signatures.

8 STRATHCLYDE

8.1 **Glasgow: University Library, Hunterian Add. 48**

Presented along with 8.2 by Mr James Graham, "one of a family long and intimately associated with the University" to the Hunterian Museum.

Tyler, Edinburgh, 1643.

Glasgow University. First signed 5 December 1643. All the approximately 303 individuals who signed were members of the university. Signing took place in 1643-4 (15 university officers, 30 students of theology, 191 students of arts), 1645 (57 students of arts), 1646 (34 students of arts) and 1647 (2 students of theology, 19 students of arts). About 40 individuals signed twice in different years, but they have only been included in the above figures once, on their first signature.

Hewison 3, no. 20.

J. Young and W. I. Addison, "Notes on Two Copies of the Solemn League and Covenant", *Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeological Society*, new series, iv (1898-1901), 121, 129-54: description and signatures, with facsimile of first page of signatures.

J.K. Hewison, *The Covenanters* (2 vols, Edinburgh, 1913), i, opposite p. 360: facsimile of some signatures.

Fleming, 16-18.

8.2 Glasgow: University Library, Hunterian Add. 48

See 8.1 above.

Tyler, Edinburgh, 1648, preceded by Tyler's 1648 *Solemn Acknowledgement* of breaches of the covenant.

Glasgow University. 191 signatures, beginning with 8 officers of the university and 6 students of theology on 22 December 1648. Students signed on 23 December. Further student signatures are dated December 1649.

Hewison 3, no. 20.

J. Young and W. I. Addison, "Notes on Two Copies of the Solemn League and Covenant", *Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeological Society*, new series, iv (1898-1901), 121, 129-54: description and signatures, with facsimile of first page of signatures.

J.K. Hewison, *The Covenanters* (2 vols, Edinburgh, 1913), i, opposite p. 360: facsimile of some signatures.

Fleming, 18-20: description.

8.3 Glasgow: University Library, Hunterian Add. q 19
Bequeathed by Miss Brown of Lafine to the Hunterian Museum.
Exhibited in the Glasgow International Exhibition of 1888.

Tyler, Edinburgh, 1648.

Glasgow. 249 signatures, 79 through notaries. Dated 17 December 1648. The first signature is that of Mr Patrick Gillespie. Signed in the South District (Saltmarket and Bridgegate) of Glasgow. As Fleming indicates, not all of Young's transcripts of signatures are reliable.

Hewison 3, no. 21.

J. Paton, *Scottish National Memorials* (Glasgow, 1890), 96: description and facsimiles of title page and first page of signatures.

J. Young and W. I. Addison, "Notes on Two Copies of the Solemn League and Covenant", *Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeological Society*, new series, iv (1898-1901), 121-9: description and signatures, with facsimile of first page of signatures.

J.K. Hewison, *The Covenanters* (2 vols, Edinburgh, 1913), i, opposite p. 360: facsimile of some signatures.

Fleming, 20-2: description.

10 FIFE

10.1 Culross: Kirk Session

On 18 September 1711 Baillie Adam gave Culross Kirk Session this copy of the covenant signed in the parish. He was thanked, and the minister was ordered to keep the covenant with the session's minutes.

Tyler, Edinburgh, 1643.

Culross parish. 707 signatures date from 1643, headed by John Duncan, the parish minister. 406 (57.5%) signed through two notaries who were the clerk of the burgh of Culross and the clerk of the lordship of Culross. On 17 December 1648, 516 signatures were added, 309 (60%) through two notaries (the clerk of Culross and the clerk of the session). See p. 162 above for an extract from the kirk session records

describing the 1648 signing. Edward Bruce signed in 1643 and again, as Earl of Kincardine, in 1648.

Account, no. 5.

Hewison 3, no. 26.

Hewison 4.

A.W. Hallen, "Notes on the Secular and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Culross", *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, xii (1876-8), 246.

D. Beveridge, *Culross and Tulliallan*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1885), i, 206-7, 226-7, 230, ii, 68: description.

SRO files H.727 and H.175 (1974).

10.2

Dunfermline: St Andrews-Erskine Church.

Found in 1654 among the papers of the late John Auchinwall, and given by the session to Mr William Walker, elder and late provost of the burgh. It evidently then (though this is implicit in Chalmers rather than explicit) passed with NC 10.1 through Walker's son, or his son's nephew, to Ralph Erskine, minister of Dunfermline. When Erskine was deposed in 1740 he formed a seceding congregation, which became the Queen Anne Street Church. His son Henry passed the covenant to Mr Fisher, a seceding minister in Glasgow, who gave it to the Dunfermline seceding congregation. The Queen Anne Street Church rejoined the Church of Scotland in 1929 and (by then known as the Erskine Church) merged with the St Andrews congregation. For the SLC signed in Dunfermline in 1648 see 16.7 below.

Tyler, Edinburgh, 1643.

Dunfermline parish. Over 900 signatures on thirteen pages, headed by the earl of Dunfermline, many being in the hand of a notary public, John Auchinwall, who was session clerk. Signed 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 14 and 14 November 1643. The ministry of the parish was vacant in 1643, so signing the covenant was organised by Mr Robert Kay, minister of the second charge in Dumbarton. The kirk session minutes record that on 29 October Kay read the covenant and told the congregation to prepare to swear and sign it on 5 November. On that day the congregation swore to it, and it was then signed "at sundrie

dyetts". In March 1644 the session paid for a cover for it. This is inscribed "For the Kirk of Dunfermling".

On blank pages at the end of the volume the seceder congregation of Dunfermline inscribed a declaration renewing commitment to the covenants, which they then signed (29 May 1746).

Account, no. 4.

E. Henderson, *Annals of Dunfermline* (Glasgow, 1879), 310: description.

P. Chalmers, *Historical and Statistical Account of Dunfermline* (2 vols., Edinburgh, 1844-9), i, 273-4: description.

Houston, 288.

10.3 **St Andrews: University Library, Ms 37242**

Signed on title page by John Smith, merchant in Edinburgh, in an eighteenth century hand.

Tyler, Edinburgh, 1643. Thirty pages for signatures with printed heading, with twenty without the heading added in 1648.

St Andrews. 1,442 signatures in all. 981, headed by the provost and magistrates, date mainly from 1643, with a few added in the following years. Signatures of residents of outlying settlements in the parish are grouped together, as are signatures of masters and students of the Old College and the New College. Some groups of signatures are in the same hands. Excluding students, the 1643 signatures show an illiteracy rate of 54% among inhabitants of the burgh, 88% among residents in rural areas.

"The Second Swearing of this Covenant at St Andr." began on 31 December 1648, and produced 461 signatures. Burgh signatures are grouped under five districts, followed by rural and New College signatures. One group of signatures is dated 2 November 1649, when the session clerk signed for men who could not write. Signatures of William Irving and Colonel William Ker are dated 19 December 1650 and 16 February 1651 respectively. The illiteracy rate for 1648 signatories is 43%.

Laing, p. 249.

National Manuscripts of Scotland, iii, no. XCVIII:

facsimile of title page and one of the pages of signatures.

Hewison 3, no. 8.

J.K. Hewison, *The Covenanters* (2 vols, Edinburgh, 1913), i, opposite p. 360: facsimile of some signatures.

Fleming, 8-13.

St Andrews University Library, Mss slip catalogue and calculations by Mr R.N. Smart.

Houston, 103-4, 288.

G. R. Kinloch (ed.), *Ecclesiastical Records. Selections from the Minutes of the Presbyteries of St Andrews and Cupar* (Abbotsford Club, 1837), frontispiece: facsimile of signatures of members of St Andrews Presbytery.

10.4 St Andrews: University Library, Ms 37243.

Presented by Thomas Gillespie in 1829.

Tyler, Edinburgh, 1643.

Abercorn parish. 265 signatures headed by that of Robert Row, minister. 215 signatures are in the hand of James Balloch, the session clerk, who was a notary public. The signatures he wrote are dated 5, 12 and 17 November and 24 December 1643.

Hewison 1, no. 6.

St Andrews University Library, Mss slip catalogue.

11 TAYSIDE

11.1 Dundee: City Library

Instructions were given on 7 November 1643 that the Dundee covenant should be “laid up in the townes comoun kist”, but it may have remained in the hands of the family of one of the ministers, as members of the family signed it until the eighteenth century. Later it was in the library of the Earl of Mansfield, whose bookplate appears on the flyleaf. It was later sold to Mr John Grant. In 1911 it was again on sale. The Dundee Free Library Committee decided it could not afford to pay £50 for it, and “a well known philanthropic gentleman in the city” declined the librarian’s suggestion that he purchase it. However,

the covenant was subsequently secured by Mr C.W. Scrimgeour, Mount Tabor, Dundee, for Dundee Library.

Tyler, Edinburgh, 1643.

Dundee. About 1052 signatures, about 451 of them in the same hand. Signatures are at the end of the text and on eighteen following pages. Thereafter two folios have been cut out: these probably contained other signatures. Later blank pages have been used for near-contemporary notes on religion, political ideas and medicine. Many of the signatures, especially the notorial ones, are accompanied by indication of occupation.

The signature “Barbra Auchinleck” occurs at the end of the preliminary material which precedes the text of the covenant, and between the real and the notorial signatures. This was almost certainly added rather later. Buist suggests she was the wife of Andrew Auchinleck (one of the burgh ministers) and daughter of Sir Patrick Monypenny. However, her christian name was Martha, and in accordance with Scottish usage she would have continued to use her own surname after marriage. No daughter of Auchinleck named Barbara is known, but it seems likely that she was a member of his family.

Hewison 3, no. 24.

Fleming, 15-16: description.

R.C. Buist (kept with the covenant itself): manuscript transcript of all signatures, dated 1634, together with lists of occupations of signatories. A further manuscript list of 223 of the signatures is kept in Buist, but is marked in his hand “This list is very incorrect”
Fasti, v, 316.

“Solemn League and Covenant. Unique Book”, *Dundee Advertiser* (15 December 1911), p. 9: description and some signatures.

11.2

Montrose: Montrose Museum and Art Gallery

Endorsed “Montrose Natural History and Antiquarian Society, 1838”. Presented by a Mrs Mitchell.

Tyler, Edinburgh, 1643.

Cadder parish. About 355 signatures, headed by that of Mr Alexander Rowat, the minister (1611-44). 305 ‘signatures’ are in the

same hand, presumably that of the session clerk. A few signatures at the bottom have been partly destroyed by cropping, and others may have been lost entirely.

Hewison 1, no. 19.

Hewison 3, no. 23.

Hewison 4.

J.C. Johnston, *Treasury of the Scottish Covenant* (Edinburgh, 1887), 638: description.

12 GRAMPIAN

12.1 **Aberdeen: University Library, BK Chur.**

Bequeathed to AUL by J.B. Craven as part of the “Bibloteck of Kirkwall”. Craven had purchased the covenant at the auction of the older works in the Orkney Library held in the Temperance Hall, Kirkwall, on 10 and 11 February 1891. Provenance before this unknown: the Orkney Library formed in 1815 had then been presented with the “Bibloteck of Kirkwall” collection, which had been based on books bequeathed to Kirkwall by William Blaikie in 1683. The 1683 catalogue lists no copies of the covenant, so it must have been acquired between then and 1891.

Tyler, Edinburgh, 1648.

Ardesier parish. 59 signatures, 21 January 1649, on three pages, headed by that of Patrick Durham, the parish minister. 50 signatures are in the same hand. Cropping has removed parts of some signatures and probably destroyed others completely.

D.N.M. Tinch, *The Orkney Library, 1683-1983* (Kirkwall, 1983), 3-5.

J.B. Craven, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Bibloteck of Kirkwall (1683)* (1897), viii-ix, xi, 41.

12.2 **Aberdeen: University Library, Ms 2740, Box 48**

In Ogilvie Forbes papers in the Boyndlie Mss. Alexander Forbes of Boyndlie, tutor of Pitsligo, was a leading Aberdeenshire covenanter in

the 1640s.

Tyler, Edinburgh, 1648.

Forgue parish. Roughly 300 signatures, over 250 in the same hand. Signed 27 December 1648. Many signatures damaged and some lost through cropping.

The covenant is accompanied by typescripts of the text and of a few of the signatures - the latter being very inaccurate.

12.3 **Elgin: Elgin Museum, ELGNM: 1857.2**

Deposited in the museum by the Elgin and Morayshire Literary and Scientific Society (later the Elgin Society and now the Moray Society), which had founded the museum. The covenant was exhibited at the Edinburgh Exhibition of 1908 (exhibit no. 1175).

Tyler, Edinburgh, 1643.

Roths parish. Seventeen signatures, headed by that of the minister, Mr Robert Tod. Probably all the signatures that follow are those of members of the kirk session. Of the seven who sign personally, two describe themselves as elders, and one was the clerk of the session. The latter, William Farquhar, also signed for nine elders, their hand touching his pen to signify their consent. The covenant is in very poor condition, with only one sheet for signatures surviving - but the fact that the verso of that sheet is blank suggests that no signatures have been lost.

On the last page of the text of the covenant at a later date there has been copied Isaiah, chapter 28, verse 18: "And your covenant with death shall be disannulled, and your agreement with hell shall not stand; when the overflowing scourge shall pass through, then ye shall be trodden down by it". The implication clearly is that the signatures that follow are to just such a covenant with death.

Hewison 1, no. 20.

Hewison 3, no. 22.

The following is the Solemn League and Covenant which was subscribed by Mr Robert Tod, minister of the Kirk of Roth es, County of Moray, and the Parishioners, 1643 (Edinburgh, 1856) [Copy at NLS, R. 234. e]. 5: facsimile of signatures.

14 ENGLAND AND IRELAND

14.1 **Oxford: Bodleian Library, Ms Rawl. A 165**

Tyler, Edinburgh, 1648.

Traquair parish. 66 signatures, including "W. Thomsone, minister". 50 signatures are in the same hand, which might be the minister's.

Hewison 3, no. 5.

Fleming, 23.

14.2 **Oxford: Bodleian Library, Eng. hist., d.3**

Originally in the Clarendon Papers, but probably one of the mss in the possession of Joseph Radcliffe (godson and one of the executors of the 3rd earl of Clarendon) at the time of his death in 1760. These were sold by auction by Radcliffe's executors in 1764.

Hewison states this covenant was formerly in the possession of William Ermyn, bishop of Durham, but no bishop of that name is known. However, it is possible that this covenant was at one time in the possession of a descendant of Sir William Armyne or Ermine (died 1651), the leader of the English parliamentary commissioners who signed it. Armyne's baronetcy became extinct on the death of his brother and successor in 1668. This would suggest that the English commissioners were given the signed covenant to take back to England with them.

Tyler, Edinburgh, 1643.

Edinburgh: East Kirk. Signed "Edinburgh in Templo Orientali, 13 October 1643" by 94 persons, including the Marquis of Argyll, the Earls of Loudoun, Glencairn, Crawford-Lindsay, Dunfermline, Leven, Cassillis, Lauderdale and Wemyss; Lords Balmerino, Forrester, Sinclair, Balcarres; Johnston of Wariston; and Stephen Marshall, Sir William Armyne, Sir Harry Vane and Edward Bowles.

The Commissioners of the General Assembly had ordered this signing in the East or New Kirk "for good example, and the better encouragement of others", by themselves, by members of the Convention of Estates then in town, and by the commissioners of the English parliament and English ministers in Edinburgh. The signing

took place after sermons and exhortations by Robert Douglas and Stephen Marshall. Robert Baillie's and Sir Thomas Hope's descriptions of the signing are quoted on p. 160 above.

Signed 7 December (apparently altered from "November") 1643 by a number of ministers and others. Signed 22 December 1643 by Thomas Hatcher, Darley, Robert Goodwin, Robert Fenwick, Robert Barwis.

Signed Edinburgh 8 January 1644 by Lord Elibank, Patrick Leslie and Mr Robert Barclay.

Hewison 3, no. 1.

Fleming, 4-8 and facsimiles 1-6: description; lists and facsimiles of all signatures.

14.3 Oxford: Bodleian Library, Clarendon Ms. 40. f. 80

Manuscript, including text of the NC.

Speymouth. Signed by **Charles II** on board ship off the mouth of the Spey, 23 June 1650. For details see NC 14.5.

Hewison 3, no. 2.

Fleming, 23-5.

14.4 Northern Ireland: Ulster Museum, Belfast

Presented to the Belfast Natural History Society, founded in 1821, sometime before 1842 (when the society changed its name to "Belfast Natural History and Philosophical Society"). The covenant was presented by Morgan Jellet senior, a descendant of a Cromwellian officer who had been granted land in County Down.

Tyler, Edinburgh, 1643.

Hollywood parish, County Down. Inscribed "At Holliwood the 8 Apryll 1644 and upon the nynth therof lykwayes. After sermon delyvered by Mr William Adair upon both these dayes the covenant of common religion was explained. And thairafter swome, subscribed and sealed with marks by a number of ye inhabitants of ye Kingdom of Irland." William Adair, minister of Ayr, was one of the ministers sent to Ireland by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland to organise the taking of the covenant. 70 signatures, many partly lost through damage, the first being those of Adair and Mr Charles Hall. About 31 of the seventy 'sealed' the covenant with their marks, their

christian name being written for them before the mark, their surname after it. Space on the last page of the text and both sides of the first leaf supplied for subscription have been filled with signatures, and more signatures were probably contained on further leaves now missing.

A Scottish edition of the covenant, signed mainly (judging by their names) by Scots, under the direction of a Scottish minister acting on behalf of the Church of Scotland, in a part of Ireland controlled by a Scottish army.

A. Deane (ed.), *The Belfast Natural History and Philosophical Society. Centenary Volume, 1821 - 1921* (Belfast, 1924), 55-6: description.

Ms note in possession of the Ulster Museum: description.

M. Perceval-Maxwell, "The Adoption of the Solemn League and Covenant by the Scots in Ulster", *Scotia. American-Canadian Journal of Scottish Studies*, 2 (1978), 3-18.

15 OVERSEAS

15.1 USA: Duke University, Durham, North Carolina
Offered for sale at an unknown date (early twentieth Century) by G. Mitchelmore & Co., Royal Opera Arcade, London, for £1,000. Sold to Duke University by John Grant, Booksellers, Dundas Street, Edinburgh, in 1982.

Tyler, Edinburgh, 1643.

Edinburgh: College Kirk. Over 750 signatures, about 250 signing through a notary. Notorial subscriptions are dated 23 and 24 October 1643. Twelve pages of signatures followed by two blank, then one page with fifteen signatures.

In NLS, Acc. 8238 (Mf. MSS 394): microfilm of text and signatures.

John Grant, *Catalogue*, 1982, item 163: description.

G. Michelmore, extract from catalogue bound up with 10.1, p.29, item 163.

16 MISSING, LOST, SUPPOSITITIOUS

16.1

USA?

Presented to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland by the trustees of the late Miss Agnes Black in the 1870s. But some of her relatives in the USA had it sent to them “with some indefinite engagement to have it safely returned”.

Manuscript copy on parchment, 1648

Very numerous, including Lords Home and Belhaven and David Leslie. Many notorial subscriptions.

D. Laing, “Notice of Two Original Documents deposited in the Museum by the Trustees of the late Miss Agnes Black, Perth”, *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, xii (1876-8), 63-4: description.

16.2 Formerly in the possession of David Hunter, SSC, Edinburgh

Exhibited in Parliament House in 1884. This is probably the same copy that is recorded in the early eighteenth century as being in the possession of Mr James Anderson, WS, Edinburgh.

Signed by **Charles II** and representatives of parliament and the church. For details see NC 16.6. Fleming assumes this to be identical with SLC 5.1 (NC 5.2), though Anderson’s copy is said to have been signed by the nobility and others and the latter is only signed by Charles II.

Account, no. 6.

Fleming, 25.

16.3

Formerly in the possession of Mr John M”Millan

Mr John M”Millan, minister of Balmaghie, living at the Forth, had a copy signed “by Minister and Parish of ----, 1643; all their own subscriptions”, in the early eighteenth century. M”Millan was minister of the parish from 1701 to 1703, when he was deposed. He subsequently worked as an itinerant preacher, taking part in founding the Reformed Presbyterian Church in 1743.

Perhaps **Balmaghie parish**.

Account, no. 1.

Fasti, ii, 392-3.

16.4 **Formerly in the possession of Alexander Young**
Alexander Young, writer in Edinburgh, in the Cowgate, had this copy in his possession in the early eighteenth century.

Temple parish. Minister and elders. Robert Couper was minister 1632-55.

Account, no. 2.

16.6 **Formerly in Kirkwall, Orkney**
In spite of Laing's reference to this covenant being in the library in Kirkwall, it was evidently not part of the Orkney Library, into which the older Bibliotek of Kirkwall had been incorporated in 1815. It features neither in the original 1683 catalogue of that collection, nor in the catalogue of older works from the Orkney Library bought at auction by J.B. Craven in 1891. But its existence was noted by Craven in 1907.

Tyler, Edinburgh, 1643?

Rousay and Egilsay parish. Many signatures (Laing). "The only complete [Orkney] copy which has been preserved, so far as I have heard or seen, is that of the parish of Rousay and Egilshay". Signed "at the West Kirk, within the said Isle of Rousay" on 24 December 1643; at Egilsay on 14 January 1644; and again at the West Kirk of Rousay on 21 January (Craven).

Laing, p. 249.

D.M.N. Tinch, *The Orkney Library, 1683 - 1983* (Kirkwall, 1983), 3-5.

J.B. Craven, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Bibliotek of Kirkwall (1683)* (1897), viii-ix, xi, 34.

J.B. Craven, *History of the Church in Orkney, 1558-1662* (Kirkwall, 1907), 207: description.

16.7 **Formerly in Dunfermline**
1648

Dunfermline parish. The covenant signed at Dunfermline in 1648

was in the hands of Mr Robert Anderson, reader, in 1654, and was entrusted to William Walker's custody along with NC 10.1 and - evidently - SLC 10.2.

P. Chalmers, *Historical and Statistical Account of Dunfermline* (2 vols., Edinburgh, 1844-9), i, 273-4.

16.8

On sale in London in 1906

Offered for sale by J. Pearson & Co. at £750.

J. Pearson & Co., *Catalogue of Two Hundred Extraordinarily Important Books, Manuscripts and Autograph Letters* (1906). Check in BL: [A Selection of Catalogues of Books offered for sale by J. Pearson & Co. S. C. 1105].

ADDENDA to list of National Covenants published in *RSCHS*, xxiii, pt. 2 (1988), 255-99.

NC 4.10, below, records a copy of the National Covenant omitted from the previous list.

NC 1.11 (SRO, GD.1/1002). See also correspondence in SRO, File H.727.

NC 1.15 (SRO, GD.103/2/150). It should have been noted that this is one of the covenants signed by Thomas Abernethy, sometime Jesuit.

NC 2.8. Location Reference should read NLS, Ms. 1656(1). Provenance and references: see SLC 2.4 above

NC 4.10 Edinburgh: New Register House, OPR.415/1, ff.80v-84r.

The text of the National Covenant has been copied into the Ceres Kirk Session register and signed.

Ceres parish. About 68 signatures, 31 of them in the hand of a notary, so the illiteracy rate is about 60%. The first signatures are those of four local landlords, including Sir Thomas Hope of Craighall and Lord Lindsay. The parish ministry was vacant, so another minister was brought in to lead parishioners in signing.

Houston, 89n, 95.

J.M. Beale, "A History of the Burgh and Parochial Schools of Fife from the Reformation to 1872" (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Edinburgh University, 1952), 99.

J.M. Beale, *A History of the Burgh and Parochial Schools of Fife* (Edinburgh, 1983), 40, 73 n.304.

NC 10.1 (Dunfermline). Originally evidently in the possession of the Earl of Dunfermline or his factor, Mr William Walker, provost of the burgh. Walker's son, or his son's nephew, presented it to Mr Ralph Erskine, minister of Dunfermline, early in the eighteenth century. Erskine was deposed and in 1740 and formed a secession congregation, the Queen Anne Street Church. From Ralph it passed to his son Henry, and from him to a Mr Fisher, a secession minister in Glasgow. Fisher then gave the covenant to the Queen Anne Street Church.

P. Chalmers, *Historical and Statistical Account of Dunfermline* (2 vols., Edinburgh, 1844-9), i, 273: description.

NC 11.3 (Breachin: Balnamoon). The signature of John Lundie as Humanist at King's College indicates that this covenant must have been signed in Aberdeen in July 1638, not April 1639 as previously stated.

D. Stevenson, *King's College, Aberdeen, 1560-1641* (Aberdeen, 1990), 110, 143 n.47.

NC 16.3 (Formerly Duns Castle). There is a note of the sale of this item in the *Glasgow Herald*, 29 June 1972.

NC 16.4 (Formerly Earlston, Berwickshire). See SRO, File T/258 for a report and list of signatures dated 1952.

NC 16.12 (formerly Hardwicke Court). See also correspondence in SRO, File H.727.

NC 17.1 (SRO, SP.13/161). Houston, 91, counts 170 signatures.

KC 17.7 (NLS, Adv. Ms. 34.5.15). Houston, 91, 94, counts 1058 signatures, 76% signing through notaries. The signatures are headed by Lord Ogilvie, and dated from 15 October to 15 November 1638.

Houston mistakenly dates the document 1643, thus giving the impression it is a copy of the SLC.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My thanks to the many librarians, archivists, curators, parish ministers and others, whose helpfulness in responding to queries has made the compilation of this list possible.

